

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00
NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-07
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OPIC-03 LAB-04 SIL-01 OMB-01 STR-04 CEA-01 AGRE-00
DLOS-09 OES-07 DHA-02 /122 W
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O R 131030Z AUG 77

FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8422

INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMCONSUL DURBAN

AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 PRETORIA 4083

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PORG US

SUBJ: ORGANIZING FOR MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY: SOUTH AFRICA

REF: A) STATE 159747, B) STATE 148782, C) STATE 37591

1. SUMMARY: SOUTH AFRICA HAS DEVELOPED, OF NECESSITY, A LOW KEY APPROACH TO THE FEW INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS OF WHICH IT HAS BEEN PERMITTED TO REMAIN A MEMBER. THE SAG HAS NO SIGNIFICANT INFLUENCE IN ANY INTERNATIONAL BODY OF IMPORTANCE EXCEPT POSSIBLY THE IMF. ITS PRIMARY GOAL IS TO REMAIN A MEMBER OF THE FEW ORGANIZATIONS IN WHICH IT IS STILL REPRESENTED. A SECONDARY GOAL IS TO INFLUENCE WESTERN COUNTRIES TO BLOCK ANTI-SOUTH AFRICA RESOLUTIONS IN MULTILATERAL MEETINGS. END SUMMARY.

2. AS INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL ANTI-APARTHEID PRESSURES HAVE INCREASED, ONE OF THE RESULTS HAS BEEN THE EXPUL-
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SION OF SOUTH AFRICA FROM A WHOLE SERIES OF INTERNATIONAL BODIES. IN THE FEW ORGANIZATIONS IN WHICH IT REMAINS, E.G., IMF/IBRD, GATT, IAEA, IT HAS PLAYED A LOW KEY ROLE. ALTHOUGH TECHNICALLY STILL A MEMBER OF THE UN, ITS EFFECTIVE EXPULSION FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY HAS CAUSED IT GREAT FRUSTRATION. THE SAG STILL SUPPORTS A UN DELEGATION, BUT IT CAN ONLY OPERATE BEHIND THE

SCENES ATTEMPTING TO INFLUENCE ITS FEW REMAINING CONTACTS AGAINST ANTI-APARTHEID ACTIONS. THE IMF IS PROBABLY THE MOST IMPORTANT MULTILATERAL ORGANIZATION FOR S.A. AT PRESENT. AMONG SUBJECTS OF VITAL INTEREST FOR S.A. IN THE IMF ARE ACTIONS WHICH TEND TO WEAKEN THE GOLD PRICE, AN AREA WHERE S.A. FINDS SOME NATURAL ALLIES, E.G., EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WITH LARGE GOLD RESERVES. S.A. IS FINDING ITS GATT COMMITMENTS BURDENSOME AT A TIME WHEN IT WOULD LIKE TO GIVE MORE PROTECTION TO DOMESTIC INDUSTRIES. SOUTH AFRICA IS ALSO AN ACTIVE MEMBER OF THE ANTARCTIC TREATY GROUP.

3. IN ANSWER TO THE SPECIFIC QUESTIONS IN REF C:

(A) AT PRESENT, THE SAG'S PRIMARY OBJECTIVE IS TO HOLD ONTO ITS REMAINING MULTILATERAL ORGANIZATION MEMBERSHIPS, PRESENT A LOW PROFILE, AND INFLUENCE WESTERN COUNTRIES TO BLOCK ANTI-SOUTH AFRICAN ACTIONS. IT TENDS GENERALLY TO CONCUR IN AND SUPPORT WESTERN POSITIONS. GIVEN ITS STANDING IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, IT IS NORMALLY NOT IN A POSITION TO TAKE INITIATIVES IN MULTILATERAL BODIES.

(B) THE USG AND OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES CAN EXERCISE SOME INFLUENCE OVER SOUTH AFRICA IN MULTILATERAL FORA. SOUTH AFRICA CONSIDERS ITSELF WESTERN IN ORIENTATION AND TRADITION. ITS MAJOR
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TRADING PARTNERS AND SOURCES OF INVESTMENT ARE IN THE WEST. AND WESTERN NATIONS PROVIDE THE ONLY REMAINING BARRIER TO ALMOST TOTAL WORLD HOSTILITY TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA. THERE ARE FEW COUNTRIES UPON WHICH SOUTH AFRICA CAN EXERT INFLUENCE IN MULTILATERAL ORGANIZATIONS.

(C) THE SAG FULLY INSTRUCTS AND CONTROLS ITS DELEGATES TO INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS. IT IS MOST LIKELY THAT DELEGATION REPORTING IS ADEQUATE TO MAKE INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE CAPITAL TIMELY AND REALISTIC.

(D) SOUTH AFRICAN PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES AND HEADS OF DELEGATIONS DO NOT HAVE ACTUAL OR POTENTIAL POLITICAL POWER WHICH MAKES IT DIFFICULT FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO CONTROL AND INSTRUCT THEM.

(E) THE SOUTH AFRICANS ARE NORMALLY RECEPTIVE TO US REPRESENTATIONS ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES BECAUSE THEY TEND TO BE OF LIKE MIND AND, IN ANY EVENT, WANT US SUPPORT IN DEALING WITH ACTIONS DIRECTED AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA IN INTERNATIONAL BODIES. THEY DO, HOWEVER, TAKE INDEPENDENT STANDS. FOR EXAMPLE, DESPITE OUR REPRESENTATIONS, THEY CONTINUE TO REFUSE TO ADHERE TO THE NPT AND THEY RECENTLY DECIDED TO ABSTAIN ON THE ISSUE OF INCREASES IN IBRD/IMF

EXECUTIVE SALARIES.

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4. AS REGARDS THE NEW SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC KEY ISSUES
OF MULTILATERAL IMPORTANCE MENTIONED IN REF B, THE
SAG'S POSITIONS FOLLOW:
(A) NORTH/SOUTH ECONOMIC ISSUES--WHILE LOCATED IN
THE SOUTHERN TIER, SOUTH AFRICA, OF COURSE, IS FAR
MORE ECONOMICALLY ADVANCED THAN ANY OF HER AFRICAN
NEIGHBORS AND IT GENERALLY SUPPORTS POLICIES FAVORED
BY THE ECONOMICALLY ADVANTAGED NATIONS. AS A PRIMARY
PRODUCER, HOWEVER, S.A. OFTEN FINDS ITS INTERESTS IN
STABLE COMMODITY PRICES (E.G., SUGAR, COPPER) COINCIDE
MORE WITH THE LDC'S. ALTHOUGH SHE IS ONE OF
THE MAJOR SOURCES OF WEALTH (E.G., THROUGH MIGRANT
LABOR AND CUSTOMS DUTIES) FOR MOST OF HER BLACK
AFRICAN NEIGHBORS, THEY HAVE OFTEN ACCUSED SOUTH
AFRICA OF BEING AN ECONOMIC AS WELL AS POLITICAL
EXPLOITER. SOUTH AFRICA ALSO ENVISIONS HERSELF AS
AN IMPORTANT POTENTIAL SOURCE OF ECONOMIC AND
TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO DEVELOPING AFRICAN COUNTRIES
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GENERALLY, BUT UNDER PRESENT POLITICAL CONDITIONS NO SUCH ROLE IS POSSIBLE. S.A. HAS A THEORETICAL VOTE ON LOS AND FOLLOWS DEVELOPMENTS IN THIS AREA BUT DOES NOT TAKE PART IN LOS DELIBERATIONS.

(B) RESOURCE AND TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER WITH THE WEST- A LARGE NUMBER OF MULTI-NATIONAL CORPORATIONS OPERATE IN SOUTH AFRICA AND, FOR THE MOST PART, THE SAG HAS ENCOURAGED THEIR INVESTMENTS.

(C) HUMAN RIGHTS--SOUTH AFRICA'S GOAL IS TO DETER CRITICISM OF ITS OWN POOR RECORD ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND APARTHEID. THE SAG POINTS TO THE REST OF AFRICA AS BEING FAR WORSE THAN ITSELF, AND CLAIMS AN INTERNATIONAL DOUBLE STANDARD. FEW COUNTRIES, HOWEVER, ARE PREPARED TO LISTEN TO OR ACCEPT SOUTH AFRICA'S RATIONALIZATIONS, AND SHE HAS LITTLE CHANCE OF MAKING HER POSITION ACCEPTABLE TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

(D) UN STRUCTURAL ISSUES--THE SAG WOULD NOT LIKELY BE AMENABLE TO INCREASING HER CONTRIBUTION TO THE UN BUDGET OR PARTICIPATING IN CONSOLIDATION AND RESTRUCTURING UNTIL SHE IS ONCE AGAIN ACCEPTED AS A FULL-FLEDGED MEMBER.

5. THE EMBASSY'S MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS OFFICER IS FSO STEVE MCDONALD.
NELSON

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